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2. *Diary and Letters of Henry Ingersoll, Prisoner at Carthagena, 1806-1809.*

Among the foreigners who came to the United States at or soon after the close of their struggle for independence was Francisco Miranda, born under Spanish rule in Caracas, South America. He conceived the idea of a similar independence for his own country and solicited aid for that purpose from the United States, from England, Austria, Russia, and France, but without avail, since none wished to become involved in a war with Spain. He took an active military part in the French Revolution but was compelled to flee to England and later returned to the United States. The close connection of France and Spain after the treaty of Basel (1795) brought the Federalist leaders to his aid in this country in view of the prospective war with France. Hamilton was desirous of commanding an expedition to Spanish South America in co-operation with England; but President Adams, however strong his feeling against France, looked coldly on such leadership and gave Miranda little encouragement save in polite words. The defeat of the Federalists in 1800 deprived Miranda of their aid. Finding the Jeffersonian party not predisposed to aid him, he resolved to head an expedition on his own responsibility. Securing financial aid from two citizens of New York, Col. W. S. Smith and Mr. Samuel G. Ogden, Miranda fitted out the small ship *Leander* in 1806, and embarked men under various pretences. Sailing to the West Indies, he engaged two small schooners, upon which he placed some of his men. As the expedition approached the South American coast near Caracas, the little fleet was engaged by two Spanish vessels, during which the *Leander* fled, leaving the two pilot schooners and some sixty men in the hands of the enemy. Among the prisoners was Henry Ingersoll, whose diary and letters are printed here for the first time. Miranda eventually landed and had some success; but during the course of his second and more famous expedition of 1810 he was captured, and died in chains in a Cadiz prison in 1816.

Henry Ingersoll was a native of Massachusetts and had been apprenticed to the printer's trade. For his skill in this craft, although a mere lad, he was engaged by Miranda, who carried with him a printing press for the various manifestos to be issued to his fellow-countrymen after he had landed. In a narrative written soon after his release from captivity, Ingersoll describes the artifices resorted to by Miranda's agents in enlisting men:

“A principal object with Miranda was how to obtain the proper persons to accompany him; it was no hard matter to procure sailors sufficient as the Ship *Leander* had long been a St. Domingo Trader, there-

fore her present appearance excited no suspicion ; but it was not so easy to engage any to enlist as Soldiers. Great circumspection was necessary not only to prevent public alarm, but to allay any suspicion which might arise in the breasts of those who were engaged. In this transaction I cannot but admire the cunning and skill of Miranda or his agents, as well as reprobate the falshood and duplicity resorted to. Mr. John Fink was applied to by Col. Smith to engage about 30 young butchers out of the New York markets to enlist as Soldiers to go to New Orleans to serve as guards to the United States Mail. They were stout, smart athletic young men, totally ignorant of public affairs ; without the least idea of any deception being used. Miranda's object no doubt was to attach these men to his person. A number of Mechanics were engaged by different men under various auspices. Miles L. Hall was authorized by Col. Smith to engage a certain number of printers for stipulated wages. Several young gentlemen engaged as officers. . . .

“In this manner did Col. Smith engage nearly one hundred men besides those belonging to the ship, a great part of whom were intended as officers. . . .

“In the mean time every precaution was taken by Lewis and others to convey on board the Leander her military stores, &c., to elude the vigilance of the public eye. After the principal part of the cargo was on board she unmoored from alongside the wharf and dropped down to Staten Island, where she was made ready to receive Miranda and his officers. The following are some of the iotas of which the cargo was composed. About 5000 pikes, 300 pairs of pistols, 50 rifles, 1500 muskets, about 2000 swords and cutlasses, 40 cannon, 2 brass pieces, 20 tons of cannon balls, half a ton of musket-balls, 150 quarter casks powder, 2 doz. saddles and bridles, 700 suits clothes consisting of jackets and trousers and a few military suits.”

From the correspondence of Miranda with President Jefferson and Secretary Madison, some of the men embarked in the enterprise supposed that the government was at least cognizant of the plan.

“In the official language held by the president in his communication to Congress in year 1805 a Spanish war was tho't unavoidable ; and if I am correct the Marquis de Yrujo was ordered to leave Washington during the winter of 1806. These events determined some to engage in this Expedition, under the idea that it was under the implied sanction of government. I do not say it was so, I know the insufficiency of the data which I go upon ; but it was a natural conclusion.” “I do not intend to accuse the administration of my country ; but I wish to exculpate those who entered into this expedition from the charge of piracy ; and too that they had forfeited all claim to protection from their own government and even lost the right of citizenship.”

The prisoner frequently asserts that President Jefferson was privy to the expedition. In 1809, after his retirement from the presidency,

Jefferson wrote to Don Valentine de Foronda, at that time Spanish minister to the United States :

“ Your predecessor, soured on a question of etiquette against the administration of this country, wished to impute wrong to them in all their actions, even where he did not believe it himself. In this spirit, he wished it to be believed that we were in unjustifiable co-operation in Miranda’s expedition. I solemnly, and on my personal truth and honor, declare to you, that this was entirely without foundation, and that there was neither co-operation nor connivance on our part. He informed us he was about to attempt the liberation of his native country from bondage, and intimated a hope of our aid, or connivance at least. He was at once informed that although we had great cause of complaint against Spain, and even of war, yet whenever we should think proper to act as her enemy, it should be openly and above board, and that our hostility should never be exercised by such petty means. We had no suspicion that he expected to engage men here, but merely to purchase military stores. Against this there was no law, nor consequently any authority for us to interpose obstacles. On the other hand, we deemed it improper to betray his voluntary communication to the agents of Spain. Although his measures were many days in preparation at New York, we never had the least intimation or suspicion of his engaging men in his enterprise, until he was gone ; and I presume the secrecy of his proceeding kept them equally unknown to the Marquis Yrujo at Philadelphia and the Spanish consul at New York, since neither of them gave us any information of the enlistment of men, until it was too late for any measures taken at Washington to prevent their departure. The officer in the Customs, who participated in this transaction with Miranda, we immediately removed, and should have had him and others further punished, had it not been for the protection given them by private citizens at New York, in opposition to the government, who by their impudent falsehoods and calumnies were able to overbear the minds of the jurors.”¹

A petition from the prisoners at Carthagená was presented² to the second session of the Tenth Congress, asserting that they had been “ entrapped into the service of the said Miranda on the expedition by assurances made at the time of their engagements, that they were to be employed in the service of the United States and under the authority of the government.” No opportunity of escape had been possible save at Jacmel and there they had been strictly guarded.

The committee to whom this petition was referred made a rather colorless report, presuming that the prisoners had told the truth and that the execution of the officers by the Spanish government

¹ *Works*, V. 474.

² *Annals of Congress*, Tenth Congress, 2d Session, pp. 488-491, 511, 896-898 ; petition of September 16, 1808 ; *American State Papers*, Foreign Relations, III. 256, 257.

further showed these survivors to be secondary offenders. The "dictates of humanity" also pleaded for their succor; but the recommendation that the President be requested to take immediate steps for their release was lost, 50 to 34, the Republican majority from the middle and southern states against the minority from Federalist New England and from New York.

In the first session of the next Congress, a new report¹ was made on the prisoners' petition. "They were, by various misrepresentations and deceptions, incautiously drawn into the service of General Miranda in an expedition, *hostile in its intention*, against some of the Spanish settlements in South America; that they were engaged under various pretences of serving their country and acting in conformity to its laws—some *ostensibly* were to go to New Orleans and act as guards to the United States mail, others were to follow their different mechanical professions in that country and the residue were engaged for a direct voyage to St. Domingo and back to New York."

An extended debate on the recommendation of the committee for relief at the hands of President Jefferson at once drifted into the question of the knowledge possessed by the government of the expedition before it sailed. Quotations were made from the evidence produced at the trial of Col. Smith and Mr. Ogden,² indicted in New York for promoting the expedition, to prove the connivance of the government. The Republicans opposed the report mainly on the ground that the prisoners had by their own action voluntarily expatriated themselves and removed all claim for assistance on the part of the United States. They further argued that such relief might lead to serious complications with Spain. Since Miranda had fled to England, the expedition was branded as a British scheme from the beginning, directed against her enemy, Spain. Among those who pleaded for the prisoners was Bacon, of Massachusetts, who refuted the insinuation that they were habitual criminals and outlaws by claiming acquaintance with one of them (Ingersoll) from his own town (Stockbridge), "of a reputable family."

Public sentiment in favor of the men had made headway since the first petition and it now required the casting vote of the speaker to defeat the report and destroy the hope of the government's aiding the captives.

Although the aid of the government was thus lost in high party feelings, the debate at one time having almost precipitated a duel, yet there were not wanting many schemes of relief at the hands of

¹ *Annals of Congress*, Eleventh Congress, 1st Session, pp. 161, 257, 269-315; *American State Papers*, Foreign Relations, III. 258, 259.

² *The Trials of William S. Smith and Samuel G. Ogden*, New York, 1807.

private persons and parties. The letter to Mr. Bacon, representative from Massachusetts, which was afterwards secured by Mr. Ingersoll, will illustrate one of many fruitless plans.

It is a fresh illustration of the weakness of the United States during this period that the liberation of Mr. Ingersoll was secured entirely through British intercession. Hon. Theodore Sedgwick, a resident of Stockbridge, Massachusetts, to whom one of the appeals of the prisoner had been sent, asked the influence of Erskine, the British Minister to the United States, in behalf of the boy. He in turn begged Hammond, former minister to this country, to present the case of Ingersoll, "a youth of little experience," to the Spanish Minister at St. James, Admiral Apodaca. The Admiral assured Hammond that he would "not fail to use his good Offices with his Government in behalf of the young Man in the first Dispatch he may have an opportunity of sending to Spain." Four months later Hammond received a triplicate of a letter "from the Supreme Government of Spain to the Government at Santa Fe [Bogotá], directing Mr. Ingersoll's immediate Release."¹

The pardon recites that "some persons belonging to the royal family and some belonging to the ministry of His Britannic Majesty having strongly recommended a petition presented by the Minister at the court of London, soliciting the liberty of John Edward Moore, English subject, and Henry Ingersoll, citizen of the United States, two young men who by reason of their trust in others, want of experience, and youth were seduced and deceived by Miranda and have been taken in this kingdom and condemned to ten years of confinement in the Castle of Omoa in the kingdom of Guatemala, the Supreme Central and Governing Junta of the Kingdoms of Spain and the Indies, being well informed and considering the distinguished recommendations of the persons who concern themselves in behalf of these unfortunates, moreover considering their youth and want of experience, has caused them to be freed from all punishment," etc.

At proper places in the Diary, selections are inserted in brackets from an uncompleted sketch of his adventures by Mr. Ingersoll. His letters are also inserted in chronological order. Editorial corrections and additions are indicated by brackets and italics. For the opportunity to print these papers the REVIEW is indebted to Mrs. M. E. Bell, of Bay City, Michigan, granddaughter of Henry Ingersoll.

EDWIN ERLE SPARKS.²

¹ Letters of Erskine, October 30, 1808, and April 14, 1809, enclosing copies of Hammond's of February 9 and April 6, 1809, and of Apodaca's of January 7, 1809.

² The footnotes are partly by Professor Sparks, partly by the managing editor.

A few remarkable events that happen^d on board the Ship Leander of sixteen guns Cap^t Tho^s Lewis, owned by Sam^l G. Ogden of New York; bound from N. Y to the Island of St Domingo in the West Indias. they are as follows—¹

- 1806 Sailed from New York, a number of passengers on board,
Feb. 2 Cargo unknown. [High were the expectations of many as
 to their future destinies.]
Feb. 10 Saw the Island of Barmuda
 12 The Cleopatra Frigate, Cap^t White, board^d us, exchanged
 some Americans for some Englishmen we had on board, after
 detaining us a bout 36 hours suffered us to pass
 14 Brought to a small Spanish schooner bound to the Island of
 Puerto Rico, let her pass. [Conjectures as to Miranda's
 object in bringing her too—his right questioned.]
 18 Came to in the harbor of Jacquemel in the Island of St.
 Domingo, during our stay in Jacquemel the Cap^t of the
 Leander chartered two schooners, the Bee Cap^t Rob^t Huddle,
 on board of which, Lewis sent 33 men all armed, with a
 nine pounder, under the command of Dan^l D. Durning, and
 the schooner Bacchus Cap^t James Gardiner unarmed. [Mis-
 fortunes—quarrel of Capt. Lewis and Miranda—Lewis' jour-
 ney to Port-au Prince—the result— . . . addition to our
 force &c.]

I. H. INGERSOLL TO HIS PARENTS.

Jacquemel, (Island of St. Domingo)

On board the Leander, March 22nd 1806

Dear Father and Mother,

Knowing that any information concerning me will be recived with pleasure I think it my duty to embrace every opportunity of writing you.—Sunday 2nd of February I sailed in the Ship Leander, on the secret expedition I mentioned in my last. In four days we passed to the leeward of Bermuda. Wednesday Feb^y 12th in lat. 24.40. N. descried a sail off our lee-bow at 8 o'clock A.M.—at 12 bore down upon us: Expecting her to be a French privateer, we hove too, and made every preparation for action, every person on board took his station. we were determined not to be taken. I expected to have seen a warm engagement; at 2 P. M she came up with us, hoisted English colours she proved to be the Cleopatra of 44 guns; after detaining us 24 hours and impressing 20 seamen for whom she gave us in exchange 12 Americans she suffered us to proceed; the Seamen she took from us were all English subjects; from our suspicious appearance she had good reason for detaining us till she was satisfied we had not contraband articles

¹ For the events to the end of 1807 the reader may compare *A General Account of Miranda's Expedition*, New York, 1808, by John H. Sherman; for those to the end of April, 1806, *The History of Don Francisco de Miranda's Attempt to effect a Revolution in South America*, by James Biggs, London, 1809, pp. 1–82, both published anonymously.

aboard:—Sunday 16th bro't too a Spanish schooner, after exam[in]ing her papers let her pass; 18th becalmed in sight of Jacquemel. this day a Sailor fell over-board, and was with difficulty saved. Capt. Lewis went by land to Port-au Prince and engaged the Ship Emperor for the expedition. Wednesday 19th came to anchor in the harbor of Jacquemel. Thursday put up a printing press on board the Ship. Friday Saturday and Sunday printed 2,000 Proclamations in the Spanish language,¹ declaratory of our intentions, which as soon as we arrive at our destination will be distributed to all parts of the world. Thursday 6th of March my birthday I went ashore at Jacquemel for the first time since I left N. York. It will be expected I should give a description of Jacquemel, the manners, customs, &c. the short time I was ashore, and the little opportunity I had of improving it, together with my not being acquainted with their language, are obstacles not easily surmounted. As to the productions I imagine they are the same with the rest of the island, and other parts of the West Indies. there appears to be plenty of coffee, I saw Oranges, Cotton Tamarinds &c. in full bloom. I should judge there were about 500 houses the greater of them no more than miserable huts; the inhabitants are chiefly blacks I observed no business going on except a few taylors at work, and the women washing in the River. they live chiefly on yams and bananos; I had not an opportunity of going into the country to see their plantations: I think when a peace takes place between France and England, the French will finally subdue the blacks. they will take the Sea-port towns; the blacks will then retire to the mountains, but in time they must surrender. Jacquemel lies on the South side of the island opposite Port-au-Prince. You will naturally ask where I am going, and what I intend to do; It is not proper yet to entrust it in a letter but it will soon be made known to the world; indeed I am not fully in the secret; but I have that confidence in the faith and honor of those concerned if we should succeed I shall be able to return to America in a less degree of dependence than when I left it.

We had a very good passage from N. York to Jacquemel in 17 days: I was sick almost all the passage but at present I enjoy very good health: I think a warm climate will agree with me. the ship Sampson Capt T. Edwards sailed from the Hook the same day we did, bound to the E. Indies, we soon parted with her. Give my love to J. Sergeant, if he is still alive. I left two of my profiles framed with Mr. Stevens N. Y. one of them I intended for Sally. My love to her, and all the rest of my brothers and sisters, no more at present,

adieu, your affectionate Son,

HENRY INGERSOLL.

Mr. Jonathan Ingersoll.

P. S. My compliments to J. Hunt. I shall write him the next opportunity. My respects to Doct. Jones and family.

[*Addressed*: "Mr. Jonathan Ingersoll, Stockbridge, County of Berkshire, Massachusetts, America."]

¹ Sherman, 35-39, gives the text of one.

1806

- March 27 Left Jacquemel destination unknown [Bee ran foul the Leander and lost her flying jib-boom]
- 28 I with Twenty men more, all arm^d was sent on board the Bacchus.
- April 8 Owing to bad Seamanship, or some intention of Cap^t Lewis we ran into the Bay of Venezuela on the Coast of Terra Firma
- 14 Came to Anchor in the Island of Aruba [*Oruba*], where we found two English armed Vessels a Brig and a Schooner Com^d by Cap^t Philips, while at aruba General Miranda had his troops amounting in all to about 200 men armed and accoutred in the best manner that circumstances would admit, charter^d the schooner Echo of 4 guns and 25 men Com^d by Cap^t Philips, every thing was put into the greatest order, Capt. Gardiner took the Com^d of the Infantry and John O'Sullivan 2nd Mate of the Leander took the Com^d of the Schooner Bacchus [While at Aruba Miranda's troops amounting in all to about 200 men paraded ashore armed and accoutred in the best manner they were able under the direction of Col. George W. Kirkland]
- 20 Saw the Island of Curacao, in the night of the Same Ins^t the schooner Echo Cap^t Philips ran away. [in attempting to beat to windward the schooner Echo left us.]
- 24 The schooner Bacchus Cap^t O Sullivan came to an anchor in the Island of Bonaire [*Buen Aire*], the same day Joined Convoy and proceeded to the Coast of Terra Firma
- 28 Fell in with two Armed Spanish vessels a Brig of 22 Guns and a Schooner of 18 Guns, after some maeunuevers and a few shots from boath sides, (in which Cap^t R. Huddle was Kill^d by a grape shot) the Ship Leander ran a way leaving us to the mercy of our enemies. we were taken prisoners tied and carried into Puerto Cavallo [*Porto Cabello*], on boarding the Schooner Bee one man named Joseph Paulding of the City of Philadelphia, was thrown overboard and was drown^d. the same night we were cram^d into a small dungeon shackeled two and two. [In sight of the main descryed 2 vessels to leeward. ran down towards them. they crowded sail and ran from us. events have proved they went into the harbor obtained a supply of men that night and came out immediately to watch our movements, for on the next morning the brig of 22 guns was within gun-shot. the schooner mounted 18 guns. after some manoeuvring an action commenced, but the redoubtable Miranda, and the Almighty Lewis,¹ fled leaving two pilot-boat schooners containing 60 men to sustain the action or give

¹ An allusion to Capt. Lewis's angry declaration, on an earlier occasion, that he "was the Almighty on board his own ship."

- 1806 themselves up to the mercy of their enemies.¹ . . . the enemy after securing their prizes proceeded with them into Porto Cavallo. . . . On coming to anchor about 12 o'clock at night under the guns of the Castle of St. Philip, information by signal having been previously communicated to the forts and country adjacent of their success, they were ready to receive us. the military were all ordered out. curiosity, consternation, or some other object, had drawn together crowds of people to behold the wretched victims of Miranda's mad ambition.]
- May 3 Cap^t D. D. Durning owing to the small Close and Filthy Dungeon he was in was [literally smothered to death].
- 12 Arrived the Lieutenant Governor and commissioners from Caracas to take our declarations. [which was to be the only form of trial we were to have for our lives.]
- June 2 Our declarations closed and sent on to Caracas for trial. [During the interim it is impossible to conceive the wretched state of mind the prisoners were in. their anxiety was indescribable. the state of suspense and uncertainty was worse than death itself.]
- July 20 Our sentences arrived and the result was made known to us in the following manner the doors of our Cells were thrown open and we were instantly surrounded by soldiers with Charged Bayonets, in that position we were marched into a small yard that was in the Castle of St Philip, we were instantly ordered to kneel down and the Interpreter read as follo[ws:] that the 10 following were to be hanged and beheaded on the next day—

Tho ^s Dunahue	George Ferguson
James B Gardiner	John Ferris
Tho ^s Billop	Paul Theadore George
Miles L Hall	Gustavus Adolphus Burgood
Charles Johnson	Daniel Kemper

Nineteen sentenced for Eight years to the Castle of Boca Chica Fifteen sentenced for Ten years to the Castle of Omoa and Thirteen sentenced for Ten years to the Castle of Puerto Rico [About 8 o'clock in the morning the doors of our Cells were thrown open almost instantaneously without our having the least suspicion of such an event; which presented to our view an unusual number of soldiers, who the moment the door was opened cocked their pieces, charged bayonets with the muzzle of their muskets pointing directly into the prison not more than a few feet from the prison door, in the form of a semi-circle. it may naturally be sup-

¹ Biggs, pp. 77–80, gives an explanation of this affair, but Ingersoll in an unprinted portion of his narrative scouts it. See Sherman, pp. 48–53.

1806

posed this movement excited some surprise ; the first impression every one received was that we were to be butchered on the spot; I expected every moment their muskets would be discharged upon us and what remained alive would then be bayoneted. . . . at that moment my Country, my friends, and everything I held dear rushed in upon my mind like a torrent and almost overwhelmed me ; yet at this awful moment every man manifested a degree of firmness that astonished even our enemies and rendered a precaution of theirs unnecessary ; in ordering some slaves to be ready with a sort of bench to carry those to the place of sentence who should be unable to proceed. The following persons were sentenced to be hung and beheaded and their heads placed on poles to be put up at different places within the province. . . . After the sentence was read we were remanded back into Prison in the same order except those unfortunate ten who were to be executed were taken to a separate prison]

21 The sentence was put into execution in the following manner we were taken out and tied half naked and in double Irons to one another marched to the Gallows, where we beheld our companions hanged and beheaded.

August 7 We were put on board the arm^d Ship Prince of Peace in double Irons [to be transported to Carthagená about 300 miles from Porto Cavallo. This is a large City on the Spanish Main, the principal depot of prisoners of War. It was supposed we were more secure here than at Porto Cavallo. After undergoing the most rigid inspection of our irons, the greater part of them being newly rivetted the prisoners were all marched out of the Castle at about 4 o'clock P. M. and conveyed on board an armed merchant ship the Prince of Peace Lieut. Don Pedro with about fifty soldiers had the charge of the prisoners exclusive of the ship's crew. They were all placed between decks, and a Centinel stationed at each hatchway, which rendered all hopes of an attempt to rescue ourselves at Sea impracticable, however several schemes were projected but failed ; it is supposed in consequence of their plans being overheard by some of the Crew, who it was afterwards understood could speak some English. The idea which has been suggested in some publication of their being betrayed thro' fear by one of their number is false.¹ On leaving Porto Cavallo, a small pilot-boat schooner accompanied the Ship, sailing to windward and a head to keep a look out for an English squadron which had appeared off the coast the day preceeding ; she left the ship the 2nd day. Events have since confirmed a suspicion that a British squadron was but a few leagues to the leeward at one time. Great was the chance they would be met by an English frigate.]

¹ Probably a reference to Sherman, p. 81.

1806

- August 15 Arrived safe in the City of Carthagena [The prisoners were landed from the ship in two row-boats. The distance from the ship to the shore was about 3 miles. Never did I experience a hotter day, the almost vertical sun was intolerable without hats or clothing sufficient to cover them ; their faces and many parts of their bodies were blistered by the scorching rays of the sun. . . . On entering the gates of the city they were met by a motley croud whom curiosity had drawn together to witness the victims of credulity and folly. It was with difficulty the guard could keep the mob at sufficient distance to allow the prisoners to pass. at this time it required all the national pride and fortitude of the prisoners to bear up under the weight of their misfortunes added to the reproaches and insults of the populace. When they arrived at the head of the street where it was intersected by one crossing it which led to the governor's palace they were ordered to halt to give time for a procession to pass composed of the Governor, priests, Officers, and all the grandees of Carthagena that they might have a view of Miranda's followers. Such was the fate allotted to men who had left the peaceful abodes of innocence and ease for fame and greatness. After arriving at the prison they were separated and put in three different apartments, with the admission of but little light, without a free circulation of air, hot, filthy, without any thing to rest their emaciated and almost naked bodies but the moist bricks.]
- Sep^t 1 Those men sentenced for Boca Chica were put to work Chained two and two
a man of the name of Burnsides and sentenced to Boca Chica Died.
- 21 John Burk Died in prison
- Oct 21 Eden Burlingham Died [In about a fortnight (they) were all removed to another part of the City. Those persons who were sentenced for eight years hard labor were separated from the rest and placed at work under a slave driver with a strong guard, chained two and two in chains from twelve to fifteen feet in length. . . . In consequence of the death of the above persons, particularly of Burke's dying suddenly in prison, orders were given to their keeper, on the first appearance of sickness among them to remove them immediately to the hospital. This was generally done. about this time Capt. Barker arrived at Carthagena on his way to the U. States, by whom was forwarded a petition to the American government.]¹

¹ Presumably that which is printed in Sherman, pp. 96-98, dated Dec. 30, 1806.

II. H. INGERSOLL TO HIS PARENTS.

Carthagena, Feb^y 17, 1807.

Dear Father and Mother,

In my last letter I gave you an account of my unfortunate situation which at present is not changed for the better. I am still a prisoner (or more properly a slave) and in irons at this place ; why I am not sent to the place I was sentenced I cannot say. which is to the Castle of Omoa at Vera Cruz. My companions in misfortune who were sentenced to this place are separated from us and are at work here. For the particulars of our capture, trial and condemnation I refer you to my last ; provided you have not received that I refer you to the Memorial addressed to the government of the United States¹ by us which goes by the same conveyance with this letter ; which I hope will rouse the indignation of the public against those men in the U. S. who have been the principals in the villainous expedition of Miranda, and induce our government to make some effort for our freedom. If the statement which we have sent at different times to America is published I have no doubt but it will have some effect.

Ever since our capture we have had no correct information from America, nor had any opportunity of seeing or speaking with any of our countrymen until the present time. There arrived here a few days since Capt. Barker who has been a prisoner some time among the Spaniards ; his ship was taken, himself and all his crew made prisoners on the coast of Chili ; he is now on his way to the U. S. where he will make public the manner of his being taken, and the treatment he has since met with : We are under many obligations to Capt B. and his mate, James Bate, for their attention and polite treatment to us while in Carthagena ; the depredations [*sic*] of the Spaniards on the American commerce I hope will not remain long unpunished. I allude nothing to our situation for it is of a different nature.

During my imprisonment I have enjoyed good health except a few weeks about last Christmas, when I had an attack of the fever of the Country ; I am now in good health. I wrote some time since to my brother, Mr. Allen, which I hope has arrived safe. You must not be surprised if you hear nothing further from me during my imprisonment, as an opportunity of writing may not occur again perhaps the *ten years*. It is galling to my feelings to think of my miserable situation now and contrast it with what it once was ; but hope that great cheerer of the human mind bids me look forward to the day when I shall again see both my friends and my country.

My love and affection to all my brothers and sisters, friends and acquaintances, particularly to Dr. Jones and family.

Your Affectionate

H GERSOLL.

Jonathan Ingersoll,
Stockbridge, Mass.

¹ *American State Papers, Foreign Relations*, III. 257.

1807

April 1 John Scott Died

July 4 Arrived the Ship Four Sisters Cap^t. Carson from the City of New York with Cloaths and about 200 Dol in Cash for us which was collected by a Committee appointed for our Relief. [Some received more money from their immediate friends which enabled them to effect their escape as will be more particularly related hereafter. This was a seasonable relief. At this time the spirit of the prisoners was at its lowest ebb. Every thing appeared gloomy ; no prospect of relief ; supposing themselves forgotten, their minds were ready to sink with despair.]

III. H. INGERSOLL TO HIS PARENTS.

Carthagera, August 2, 1807

Dear Parents,

Although fifteen months has elapsed since I was taken prisoner, during which time I have written home several times and not received an answer, still I cannot let pass the present opportunity of again writing. You will perceive by the date of this letter that I am still in Carthagera from whence I wrote you in my last I expected to be sent to Omoa, the place of my destination the first opportunity ; why I am not removed is best known to the Lords of this Country. I am still kept in irons, and in prison, but my situation is in some degree meliorated by the benevolence of the good citizens of the United States. A subscription has been set on foot in the principal cities of the United States for the relief of all the prisoners taken in the two schooners of Miranda. On the 4th of July last arrived here the Ship Four Sisters, Capt. Carson from New York, with cloathing and some money for us, sent by the citizens of New York ; the money amounted to upwards of \$4½ a man ; there was more than a suite of cloathes a piece, besides a blanket and handkerchief for each one.¹ We cannot feel too grateful to the citizens of New York for those supplies, as it greatly relieved our necessities : We recived at the same time a letter from the Committee, appointed by the citizens of New York for receiving money, for the prisoners and sending it us by proper conveyance and stating that every thing that was possible would be done for us. the following is a short extract from the letter— “ *You must not deceive yourselves with the hope of release through any agency of our government they cannot appear in this business— but from the generosity of the Spanish Monarch every thing may be hoped on a representation being properly laid before him. this will be shortly done, and forms one of the first objects of our solicitude. the next will be to furnish you quarterly with such supplies as will render your imprisonment supportable.*”

I would ask why cannot we flatter ourselves with the hope of release from our government ? The answer is, *she cannot appear in this business.*

¹ “ Also a pair of shoes.”

very strange indeed ! the present day appears to be an epoch of great importance, and the American government is delicately situated ; she wants able men at the helm to steer her through the present crisis, and conduct her to glory. From the little information I can gather of American politics she is disturbed by factions at home and threatened by war from abroad : I have heard that Aaron Burr is to be tried for treason, I think Thomas Jefferson might be tried for the same crime : however I may be mistaken, I may not possess correct information as to what is going forward in the busy world. I anxiously wait for the time when I shall once more visit my native land.

I know from your internal situation you could not know when an opportunity offered of sending letters to this place, might have deterred you from writing ; but if my Father would take the trouble of writing me and enclosing the letter to Mr. R. B. Forbes, No. 3 Greenwich Street, or Alpheus Sherman, N. York, who are the acting Committee in behalf of the citizens of New-York and direct the letter to me prisoner, Carthage, it would reach me, the U. S postage must be paid ;

During Capt Carson's stay here he has been unremitted in his attentions to the prisoners. he has not only done his duty in delivering the cloathes and money entrusted to his charge but he has visited us almost every day, which I can say is a blessing to men in such a situation to have an opportunity of conversing with a countryman in a foreign country.

Dear Parents I will close this letter by requesting you in case you write me to be very particular in every thing respecting the family, since I left home. My most affectionate love to my Sister Sally and Mr. Allen, also to my brothers Thomas, John, David, and my little Frederick, to my sisters Mary, Eunice, Emeline, Lucy and Harriot, tell them they must not forget me,

my respects to all enquiring friends.

your ever faithful and

affectionate Son

Mr. Jonathan Ingersoll

HENRY INGERSOLL

Eunice Ingersoll.

1807

Sep^t. 26 Cap^t. John O Sullivan made his escape. [He was in the hospital where he had been sent while sick. during the time he lay sick by bribery he obtained a pair of irons with a screw head made in the bolt, by which means [*he*] could take them off at any time without fear of being discovered. The prisoners while in the hospital seldom had the door of the cell shut. a Centinal was always placed there. this door opened into a yard which communicated with the Street by an opening in the Wall fronting the street. at this place was stationed another Centinel also. No one of the Prisoners were ever allowed to pass the inner Centry into the yard but might approach the door for the purpose of breathing the fresh air. Under these circumstances, Sullivan determined to make a brush. Between Sundown and dark while some

- 1807 of the prisoners engaged the attention of the Centinel in conversation Mr. Sullivan took of his irons unperceived by him and passed into the yard without being discovered here he met one of the attendants of the hospital who before he gave the alarm Sullivan had slipped into his hand several pieces of gold which possessed such powerful charms as completely to shut his mouth. He then rushed passed the guard into the Street. in his way he knocked down the]¹
- Oct. 29 Jeremiah Powell was pardoned by the King of Spain.²
- Nov. 7 After much labor there was a hole cut through a fourteen Foot wall which was the back wall of our cell. eighteen went out. only three made their escape namely William Lippincott John H Sherman³ and Moses Smith the Remainder were taken and confined in stocks and double Irons for more than three months.
- | | | |
|--------|------------------------|--|
| 28 | Frederick Reggers Died | { those two
men died
from being
confined
a length of time
in stocks |
| 1808 | | |
| May 25 | Daniel Mackie Died | |

IV. H. INGERSOLL TO HIS PARENTS.

Carthagen prison (S. America) July 4. 1808.

Dear Parents

It is with regret I am again obliged to date my letters in a Spanish prison. The last information we received from the U. S. gave us some hopes we should in time regain our liberty. but it appears that the Committee formed in N. York for the relief of their countrymen in slavery, had no other object in view but to flatter and deceive us. Or that they have fully accomplished their intentions by supplying two or three with money sufficient to make their escape. I have never expected to receive pecuniary assistance from my Parents. but as it is the interest of every man of us to make as many friends in America as possible, I have in my former letters written in what manner my father might be of service to me, and in this letter I will repeat it: for I know of no one action in my whole life (except coming on this Expedition) whereby I have for-

¹ The narrative which Ingersoll wrote out after his return (but apparently before 1811) ends at this point.

² Jeremiah Powell, who joined the expedition at Jacmel, and was made a major in it (Biggs, p. 50) was the son of William Dummer Powell, a judge, afterward Chief Justice, of Upper Canada, see *post*, and *Canadian Archives*, 1892, Upper Canada, pp. 359, 360, 369, 396; *id.*, 1893, Upper Canada, p. 7. Biggs says (p. 246) that Judge Powell procured at London a letter from Dr. Jenner (the discoverer of vaccination), which gained him access to the King of Spain. King Charles IV. had been greatly interested in vaccination, and had sent an expedition around the world to propagate the method in his colonies. *Annual Register*, 1806, pp. 350*—353.*

³ Author of *A General Account of Miranda's Expedition*, New York, 1808.

feited all claim to paternal affection. If our unfortunate situation should ever become a subject of governmental consideration, that my father would represent to *Mr. Bidwell*¹ or whoever may be member of Congress for the County of Berkshire my situation, and if he has the least spark of humanity he cannot but advocate any measure which would tend to our liberation. I am certain that if our pardon was asked of the King of Spain it would be granted immediately. If nothing is done for us generally, then everyone will have to depend on himself, and his friends. If my father was to obtain a recommendation from some of the principal men of Stockbridge in my favor, which I think might be done, and transmit it by the member of Congress to the Marquis de Casa de Yrujo the Spanish Ambassador, together with his representations something might be done in my favor. At any rate I wish my father would write me and send it to the Spanish Ambassador, or to the Spanish Consul in N. York. We have been told that the "government of the U. S. cannot openly appear in this business." I ask why not? are we not American citizens? do we not deserve the protection of our Country; indeed have we not a right to claim it? did we not engage under an officer of the U. States, Col. W^m *Smith* of N. York.² or Ship on board of the *Leander* Capt. *Lewis* under *American colours*. I know there never was men in a similar situation as ourselves. It is also said the government of the U. S. knew nothing of this Expedition: but I say some of the heads did know of it: I will mention some both in and out of office high in the estimation of the U. S. who not only knew but aided and abetted this cursed Expedition. viz: Thomas Jefferson president of the U. S. James Maddison Secretary of State, John Adams the former president of the U. S. and Rufus King formerly minister to England, are a few only who knew of this business. I have every reason to believe that many of our letters to our friends in America have been suppressed by those who were concerned in this Expedition.

In October last Mr. Powel son of Judge Powel of Canada by the exertions of his father received his pardon from the King of Spain. In November last 18 of us broke prison and three only effected their escape. they had been supplied by their friends with money. believe me to be your affectionate and dutiful Son,

H. INGERSOLL

Mr. Jonathan Ingersoll }
Mrs. Eunice Ingersoll }

P. S. If my father should write me, direct to me American Prisoner in Carthagea.

I have nothing more at present to write but my most affectionate love and best wishes to all my brothers and sisters. my compliments to all friends.

H. I.

¹ Barnabas Bidwell, M.C. 1805-1807, a Stockbridge man.

² Col. Wm. S. Smith, surveyor of the port of New York, son-in-law of John Adams.

1808

Augs^t 10 Arrived his majesties Sloop of war Sabrina Cap^t Edw^d. Kittoe
with the news of Peace between England and Spain¹

V. THE VICEROY TO CAPTAIN KITTOE.

(Copy of Translation.)

Sir.

Among the many persons captured under Francis Miranda's orders I doubt not there may be some British subjects but they are all criminals and have been tried and sentence passed on them by the Tribunal at Caraccas which is wholly independent of my Jurisdiction.² it is therefore out of my power to afford them the relief I would have done in consequence of your intercession of the 12th of August last. Your request in behalf of those who were Prisoners of War has been complied with.

I remain

Sir

Your humble servant,

(Signed)

ANTONIO AMAR.

Vice Roy.

VI. H. INGERSOLL TO BARNABAS BIDWELL.

Vaults of St. Clara, Carthagena, S. America

Oct. 1. 1808.

Respected Sir,

I take the liberty to transmit to you a copy of a memorial of thirty-six American citizens to Congress with a request that you would adopt some sure means to lay it before that body. I am induced to this from a consciousness that when the government of my country is fully acquainted with the treachery and villainies made use of to entrap her citizens into the service of a foreign outlaw she will leave no means untried to rescue them from slavery. We have been nearly three years in irons a part of which time in stocks, not suffered to be let out to answer the ordinary calls of nature. We have already made one representation to the U. States but we fear it has never reached them for we do not find anything is doing in our favor. It is true a subscription was made in N. York for the purpose of sending us supplies, and defraying the expence attending sending on a representation to the Spanish Monarch, but from

¹ For Kittoe, see Marshall's *Naval Biography*, X. 63. He had commanded the *Sabrina*, 18, since the autumn of 1806. During his stay in Carthagena, Capt. Kittoe showed great interest in the prisoners and took active steps for their release. He sent a petition to the Viceroy of Santa Fe (Bogotá), whose jurisdiction extended over the district in which Carthagena was situated. This petition is printed in *American State Papers*, Foreign Affairs, III. 258, and in *Annals of Congress*, Tenth Congress, 2d Session, pp. 491, 492; and therefore is not printed here. The reason for its failure will be found in the reply next given.

² Caracas was in the captain-generalcy of Venezuela, Carthagena in the viceroyalty of New Granada.

the lapse of time we fear nothing has been done. I have no doubt from your known humanity you will do everything that lays in your power to restore to liberty so many innocent men groaning in foreign slavery

As for myself I was not under the same engagements mentioned in the memorial; i. e. to guard the mail from N. Orleans to the city of Washington. I was a passenger on board the ship, otherwise I am in the same predicament mentioned in the petition. I have previously written to my father in what way he might convey me a letter, which was to deliver it into your charge to convey to the Marquis de Casa de Yrujo, the Spanish Ambassador at the City of Washington who would transmit it to Carthagena, with a proper representation to the Marquis in my favor, which has already been done by Judge Powell of Canada to his Son in this prison. Mr. Powell obtained the pardon of his Son by going to London himself and from thence to Madrid, but as I have never received any answers to my letters, I fear my friends may think me guilty of the crime of piracy alledged against me; if so, I have but to regret still more my unhappy fate. If you would take charge of a letter from my father, and deliver it to the Spanish Ambassador, with a request to forward it on to me, I shall be under many obligations to you Sir, and shall ever remember it with gratitude.

your most ob^t and humb^le serv^t

HENRY INGERSOLL

Hon. B. Bidwell Esq.

VII. H. INGERSOLL TO DR. HORATIO JONES.

Vaults of St. Clara, Carthagena, S. A. Dec. 6, 1808.

Dear Sir,

On your arrival at Stockbridge from Philadelphia you must have, no doubt, been very much surprised on hearing of my leaving New-York in the expedition of Gen^l Miranda's; an Expedition which has so completely proved my ruin—but I then tho't it was for the best. I am induced to write to you from the hope of receiving an answer, as I have wrote a number of letters to my father, also pointed out the way in which he might convey me an answer but have never received a single line from him. Ere this you must have been informed of every circumstance attending Miranda's expedition, therefore it is unnecessary to enter into a full detail of the subject, but will content myself by mentioning the most material circumstanstes which have have happened to me since I was sentenced to *ten years slavery*.

Soon after sentence was passed on me at Porto-Cavallo I was sent from thence and all my companions to this place. immediately after our arrival here we wrote a memorial to the government of the United States, which, as far as my recollection serves me we sent on to the U. S. in Dec. 1806, but have never heard any thing concerning it. In August of the following year we received a small sum of money and some cloathes from a Committee formed in N. York for the purpose of receiving sup-

plies, and sending them to the Americans in slavery in South America, with assurances from them that they would do every thing in their power to obtain our liberty, and that in the mean time we should receive supplies every three months. in their letter to us they also mentioned, "*you must not deceive yourselves with the hope of release thro' any agency of our government. They cannot appear in this business.*" What authority they had for this assertion I cannot say, or what design they might have had in writing it is equally unknown to me; notwithstanding their fair promises we have never heard any thing further from them. Soon after receiving the above supplies John Sullivan who was Capt. a short time of one of the schrs. which was taken made his escape from the Hospital in this place. he had received some money sent him by his mother in N. York which enabled him to effect his escape with ease.

October of the same year Jeremiah Powell son of Judge Powell of Upper Canada received his Pardon from the King of Spain on the application of his Father. In November following 18 of us broke prison; not being acquainted with the country around Carthagená 3 only effected their escape, whose names were John Sherman, Moses Smith of New York, and Wm. Lippencott of Philadelphia who had been supplied with money by their friends in America. The remainder of us, your humble servant among the rest had the misfortune to be taken six miles from Carthegená, bro't back, our old irons put on, and additional punishment inflicted on us by being confined four months in Stocks, not suffered to be taken out to answer the ordinary calls of nature. We have not been able for upwards of 18 months to obtain any correct information from the U. S. it is true we have understood there has been an embargo laid on the country this some time past, and that America was likely to go to War with England, which may God avert. In August last Edward Kittoe Esq. Commander of H.B.M.'s sloop of War Sabrina arrived at Carthagená with the news of peace between England and Spain. On Captain Kittoe's arrival at this place we acquainted him with our unfortunate situation who immediately sent on a Petition to the Vice Roy of this Province for our Pardon, but more particularly for those who were British subjects, there being nine amongst us who were British born subjects. The Vice Roy returned a very polite answer to Capt. Kittoe's request but as we were tried and sentence passed on us by the Tribunal at Carracas which was wholly independent of his Jurisdiction, he could not grant him his request which he otherwise would have done had it lain in his power. We are much indebted to Capt. Kittoe for his generous interference in our behalf for nothing but humanity and a strong desire to relieve distress could have induced him to the above step. Capt. Kittoe pledged his honor to us he would lay our case before the Royal Junta in Spain and ask himself for our pardon; what will be the result, God only knows, at all events I expect the British subjects will be soon liberated.

Capt. Kittoe sailed from this for Cadis in October last with dispatches, by whom we sent several letters to the U. S. also another memorial to

our government ; I transmitted a Copy enclosed in a letter to the hon. Barnabas Bidwell, Esq. with a request to lay it before Congress, I wish you would enquire if he received it, if he has use your influence with him to have it laid before Congress. Previous to Capt. Kittoe's leaving this he advised us to petition the Capt. General of Carracas, which he would have done himself had he remained in Carthagena long enough to receive an answer we have accordingly done so, and had it translated into Spanish and expect an answer in March next. to add force to our petition we want some one like Capt. Kittoe to back it. Since we have been in Carthagena 6 have died, 4 have made their escape and one obtained his pardon : those who have effected their liberty were men who had friends in N. York or Philadelphia, who supplied them with money, by which means an escape from a Spanish Prison may be effected ; if the persons above mentioned had not got their liberty I fancy ere this [*some*] thing further would have been done for us, but now, owing to the few friends those have in the U. S. who are left in prison, I do not much expect our gov. will take our case into consideration. It has been my opinion this some time that we are kept here from party views. I can gather little or no information from the U. S. but it appears to me that party spirit absorbs every other consideration. It is a disgrace to the U. S. that she suffers her citizens to remain in slavery for I have every reason to believe that Thomas Jefferson not only knew but aided the cursed expedition of Miranda. I am told here we need only be ask'd for, to be liberated. I think my pardon might be obtained by my father thro' the means of the American Consul in Spain, during the present critical situation of that Country.

Since the Peace between England and Spain there is a continual intercourse between Jamaica and this place which enables us to send directly to the U. S. thro' the same channel letters might be conveyed to me, therefore I hope Doct. Jones will not fail to write ; send the letter to some correspondent of yours in N. York to be forwarded to Jamaica ; direct to me, *American prisoner, Cartagena, de Indies* to the care of Mr. Beard, Proprietor of the American Hotel, Jamaica, who will forward it on to me.

Your esteemed friend,

H. INGERSOLL

Doct. Horatio Jones

N. B. A Mr. Saunders one of my unfortunate companions, has just completed a pamphlet, containing a full account of Miranda's Expedition.¹ The material from which he has collected this little book he procured from a James Gardner who suffered death at Porto-Cavallo, the evening previous to his execution. It appears very correct, and I believe will receive a general reading and excite the indignation of every honest American. It will unmask a number of persons who have hitherto possessed the confidence of their countrymen and enjoyed the highest posts

¹ For Robert Saunders, see *American State Papers*, Foreign Relations, III. 257, 258.

of honor and profit within the gift of a free and enlightened people and prove them to be the abettors of a most abandoned and unprincipled villain. Mr. Gardner attended a number of the secret meetings of the persons residing in N. York previous to the departure of the Expedition.

P. S. I wrote to my father by the last conveyance to Jamaica, which was in November last. if America goes to war with England, I do not expect my letters will reach home. The memorial which I sent to Mr. Bidwell I expect will go by the way of Europe. Give my duty and affection to my father and mother, my love to all my brothers and sisters, my respects to Mrs. Jones and compliments to my fellow student Wm. Brown, also to all enquiring friends.

yours, &c.

H. INGERSOLL.

[Superscription]

Doct. Horatio Jones, Post-Master.

Stockbridge—Berkshire County,

Massachusetts.

U. S. A.

pr. Capt. Curtis { To the care of Mr. Beard, Proprietor of the American
Hotel, Kingston, Jamaica.

1809

Feb. 2 Don Antonio Narvaez General of the troops of Carthagera
ordered John Moore out of Prison on Parole

VIII. H. INGERSOLL TO T., J. AND D. INGERSOLL.¹

[Carthagera S. America, Feb^r 3, 1809.]

Dear Brothers

I have just returned from the King's Hospital in this place recovered from a severe fit of sickness. thank God I am now tolerably well. you must, ere this, all be well acquainted with the circumstances of my imprisonment, some occurrences however, may not be unworthy of notice. four of my unfortunate companions have made their escape since we have been in Carthagera, owing to their receiving assistance from their friends in America ; several have died, *one* has received his pardon from the King of Spain CHARLES THE FOURTH on the application of his Father, who is a gentleman of some influence with the British Ministry. Not long since there arrived at this place H. B. M's sloop of war Sabrina, Edward Kittoe, Esq. commander, with the news of peace between England and Spain, and owing to the shameful neglect of the American government towards us for nearly three years, nine amongst us who were british-born subjects, (but who had a just right to claim the protection of America) made known to Capt. Kittoe their situation acknowledging themselves british subjects, and claiming protection

¹ A copy of this letter, without the postscript, was made in the same handwriting, but shows no sign of having been mailed. The letter itself is marked as forwarded by Mr. Macpherson of Kingston.

as such. In consequence of which Capt. Kittoe generously exerted himself in the behalf of us all, he sent on a petition to the Vice Roy of this province at *St. Fe* for our pardon ; the Vice Roy made answer that as we were sentenced by the Captain General of Carraccas who was wholly independent of him, therefore he could not grant him his request, which he otherwise would have done. previous to Capt. Kittoe's sailing from this for Cadis he advised us to petition the Captain General of Carraccas for our pardon, which we did, had it translated into Spanish and sent it on to Carraccas when Capt. Kittoe sailed we gave him a memorial to our government for him to forward ; he also took a representation of our situation to the *royal junta* at Seville in Spain, which he promised he would lay before them and ask himself for our pardon ; the result of which time alone will unfold. in case all of us being refused eventually the british subjects will be cleared.

The British subjects also petitioned his Grace the Duke of Manchester governor of Jamaica, making known to him their situation, requesting him to use his influence with the Spanish governors to alleviate their sufferings. I understand the Duke published their petition in Jamaica with an answer that he could do nothing for them in his *official* capacity at present, as it would be anticipation on his part to attempt it, as Capt. Kittoe had, ere this, represented all our situations to the Royal Junta in Spain. however there are now in port two English vessels, the one from Europe, the other from Jamaica, one of the Captains bro't letters for a Mr. John Moore,¹ one of the british subjects (also some money) whose father is a Capt. in the British service, his Uncle a Col. James Moore, he has also other relations of high birth—rank goes a great way with the Spaniards. I believe Mr. Moore has recommendations from gentlemen in Jamaica to some Spanish officers in this country ; at any rate, in consequence of the exertions of the English captains, together with the wish of the Spaniards at the present moment to do the English favors, *Don Antonio Narvaez* a Spanish Lieutenant-General used his influence with the Governor of Carthagená to have Mr. Moore's irons taken off which has been done, and is to go his security to take him out of prison to his house till his pardon can be obtained ; I expect he will go to the general's house in a few days ; the English Captains are making every exertion that lays in their power to relieve their country men, in fact they do every thing for us all they can ; but they *can do nothing* for the Americans. thus you see one or two private Englishmen are doing everything to relieve their countrymen, while America sits idly looking on, and sees her citizens in slavery without making one single exertion to relieve them.

Dear Brothers

I have written a number of letters to my dear Parents one to my brother Thomas Allen one to Barnabas Bidwell, Esq. to whom I enclosed a memorial to Congress requesting him to lay it before that hon. body ; also one to Doct. Jones, in the major part of my letters I

¹ Called John Edward Moore in the pardon.

have pointed out the way in which letters might reach me, but have never received an answer to any of them. It is an additional cause of grief to my other sufferings that I am unable to hear from my friends, and at the same time not knowing but my parents may think me guilty of the crime alledged against me. it cannot be that by one act of my youthful days I have forfeited all claim to Parental or brotherly affection, especially as by that act I tho't I was not only rendering my self a service but supposed the ruinous Expedition in which I engaged was perfectly fair and honorable, I believed at that time and do now that it was known to the President and the other heads of Departments in the United States

Direct to me, *American prisoner, Carthagena, to the care of J. M. Macpherson, Kingston, Jamaica*; the letter can be easily forwarded from New York to Jamaica.

My most affectionate love to my dear Father and Mother, all my Sisters and to my little brother Frederick. in the mean time believe me to be your affectionate

Brother

To Mr. Thomas, Jonathan, jun.
and David Ingersoll—
Brothers, Stockbridge,
Berkshire County, Mass.

HENRY INGERSOLL

Vaults of St. Clara,

Carthagena, S. America, Feb^y 3, 1809.

P. S. Since writing the above, *Mr. Moore* has been taken out of the prison and sent to Gen. Narvae's house.

H. I.

1809

March 16 William Carthright Died

Ap^r 1 Received Four Hundred Dollars which the good Citizens of Jamaica subscribed for our relief

9 Thro' the interest of Dⁿ Antonio Narvaez the Vice Roy of St Fe ordered the Irons taken off of all those that own^d themselves Englishmen and a single one put on

17 Hugh Smith a boy about 12 Years old, Mr. Scott an Englishman took out of Prison, on bail.

IX. H. INGERSOLL TO HIS PARENTS.

Carthagena de Indies, April 24, 1809.

Dear Parents

I consider I have done my duty towards you in letting you know at various times my miserable situation. I now intreat you by all the affection you ever had for your unfortunate Son to convey him a few lines. I have lived (I can scarcely say live but existed) during my confinement with a distant hope that I should yet one day enjoy the blessings of liberty—but I fear I have encouraged a false hope, it was that alone which cheered me in my solitary hours and kept me alive thus long.

—but I now give over every hope and expect to make my exit in prison ; still, whatever may be my lot I shall always recollect with tears of thankfulness the kind instructions of my dear parents, particularly the tender and affectionate care of my dear mother during my youth. Were I so disposed I could fill sheets to prove to you that the U. States in whatever light we are considered are culpable in their neglect towards us. Direct to me, American Prisoner, Cartagena *de Indies*, to the care of J. M. Macpherson Kingston Jamaica who will forward it to this place.

your dutiful and affectionate Son,

HENRY INGERSOLL

Mr. Jonathan Ingersoll

Mrs. Eunice Ingersoll.

X. G. BACCHUS TO E. BACON.

(Copy.)

Phil^a May 19th 1809

Hon^l Ezekial Bacon Esq.¹

Dear Sir

I drop you a few lines on the subject of those poor unfortunate people who are in the Santa Clara Prison at Carthagea on the Spanish Main.

I have to inform you that I am going out to Laguiria and perhaps Porto OBello a few leagues to leeward and two or three days sail from Carthagea. I now offer a tender of my services and would proceed down to Carthagea, and endeavor to relieve those unfortunate people who have been suffering there such a length of time. As Congress will not do any thing in this business, it might be done by Subscriptions being set on foot here, New York, Boston, Salem, and Baltimore. I am confident a Sum would be subscribed in one week adequate to every expence that might attend such a voyage. Letters must be obtained from the new Spanish Minister and from Mr. Erskine the British Minister, to the Vice Roy of that province who resides at St. Fe 900 miles from Carthagea, the expence of sending express would be considerable and a detention of forty days this must be done before August as their rainy Season begins when the roads in that Country are impassable.

I have been at Carthagea and know the difficulty of doing business in that Country. if necessary I could go to Carraccas and get letters from the Gov. Gen^l there to the Vice Roy. at any rate if they could not be released their distresses might be alleviated. The best way to get this business into immediate motion would be to get a Member of Congress to write on to some respectable House here to set a subscription on foot in N. York and Boston, &c. Doct. Eustis would be a good hand to speak to about it. Jn^o. Gardner Jun^r. here and Noah Talcott New-York, would be a good house to set the business a going there. Gen^l. Smith of Baltimore would be a good hand to put the motion there. If you think any

¹ Ezekiel Bacon, a lawyer of Stockbridge, was M. C. from 1807 to 1813.

thing can be done in the business write me here to care of Jn^o. Gardner Jun^r and all attention on my part shall be in force to accomplish the desired effect. I can give every satisfaction necessary as to my responsibility and will get letters to that effect if any thing will be done. your immediate reply will be necessary as I don't wish to be detained long on acc^t. of this business on an uncertainty. I speak the Spanish Language which would facilitate the business.

I am

With esteem

Yours most ob.^t Serv.^t

GURDON BACCHUS.

I think \$1000 might be raised here by the Equestrian Company in one night. it would take very quick. I will mention this business to some of the Merchants here and drop you a few lines in a day or two.

G. B.

1809

April 29 Joseph Heckle a boy of 12 years old made his escape from the place he used to work at.

May 20 John Moor and Henry Ingersoll rec^d their pardon from the Royal Junta in Spain

XI. H. INGERSOLL TO HIS FATHER.

Georgetown, *district of Columbia* July 15. 1809.

Dear Father

I have the indescribable satisfaction to inform you of my arrival in this town last night from Carthagena prison having received my pardon from the Royal Junto of Spain, which was a most agreeable surprise at present inexplicable to me, having never received any letters during my imprisonment; to whom I am indebted for my liberty I know not, but shall always consider myself under great obligation to them and hope I shall never be deficient either in gratitude or thanks. I hope my father will inform me in what manner my pardon was procured. My pardon says, "*It is in consequence of my good faith and character, and little experience,*" &c. At present I wish to lay myself under further obligations to my parents. when I received my pardon I was sick at the Hospital without either clothes or money, therefore I was under the necessity to draw an order on my father for sixty dollars, which money I obtained from Mr. Samuel Ober Supercargo of the schooner Citizen of this place. With a promise that it should be paid soon after my arrival, the Capt. of said schooner gave me a passage home. Perhaps my father may think I was too extravagant, but I assure him I could not do with less, in my next I will be more particular, suffice it to say, expended for a change of clothes \$35, which was as cheap as I could do with, on a voyage at Sea, my expences in Carthagena together with the necessary documents of my pardon for which I had to pay \$10 one barrel of bread which the circumstances of the vessel rendered it necessary for me to put a-board \$10 more, and five

dollars I had on my arrival at this place in all amounting to \$60. which if it is possible I wish my father to remit on to me as I have promised it should soon be paid. if it is difficult for my father to obtain the money I hope to be able in a few months to refund it, as I will go to work if possible and not return home till I can pay it. A few days after my irons were taken off, in consequence of my being so long confined and suddenly set at liberty, my ancles were so swelled and lame I tho't I should lose the use of my legs, but after being one week or ten days at Sea I recovered the use of them. I hope my brother Thomas will afford me some assistance, when he considers that I have been unfortunate, and perhaps I shall yet one day have it in my power to make ample recompence, sure he cannot deny me. do not my dear father disappoint me in this my request. I wish my father to inform me what means were made use of to obtain me my liberty; also the particular state of the family. My most tender and affectionate love to my dear mother, all my brothers and sisters.

in haste, your affectionate Son,

Mr. J. Ingersoll.

HENRY INGERSOLL

P. S. Direct to me Georgetown, district of Columbia.

XII. H. INGERSOLL TO T. INGERSOLL.

Washington City July 20, 1809.

Dear Brother,

Last week I wrote to my father informing him of my liberation, and arrival at Georgetown, also requesting him if possible to send me \$60 which money I received from Mr. Samuel Ober, Supercargo of the schooner Citizen, at Carthagen. in that letter I requested that you would assist me if it laid in your power, which I now repeat hoping that you will not deny me. In my letter to my father I requested he would inform me what means had been made use of to effect my liberty since which, as I suspected, I find the Hon. Mr. Bidwell, and E. Bacon have in some measure contributed towards it. Also from a paragraph under the Stockbridge head of July 1, I observe an application was made by Mr. Erskine the British Minister, to the Spanish Ambassador. I wish to be informed of every thing respecting this transaction. I have had access to the Journals of the House of Congress, and have obtained copies of some documents, which was laid before them, respecting our petition, and am sorry to find that the report of the Committee in our behalf was lost, in consequence of the Speaker's decision. I had determined to be very minute and particular in this letter, but find myself incapable; I have not yet composed myself, so many objects having at once crowded upon me that I hardly know what to do or where I am, in fact, I sometimes doubt whether I am not dreaming all this while; would to God, however, I had arrived here during the session of Congress. I should have been of service to my fellow prisoners. I have matter enough to fill sheets, and was my mind at perfect ease I should know where to commence. Allowances are to be made for my present situation, therefore this unconnected scroll is excusable.

About the 20th of May, I was informed my liberty had arrived in Carthagena, from Spain ; *Genl. Narvaes* was the person who sent me the above information ; the joyful sensations the above excited, mingled with those of a different nature, are too great and difficult to be described. The afternoon of the same day I was visited by Don Manuel Ribero, of Carthagena, congratulating me on my restoration to liberty, friends and country, politely requesting me to make his house my home while in Carthagena, which I gladly accepted ; I was ten days in prison before an order from the Governor could be procured to have my irons knocked off, which will give you a faint idea of the dilatory method of procedure amongst the Spaniards ; those 10 days appeared to me the longest ever I experienced in my life ; at last the blessed day arrived when I was once more set at liberty ; the happiest day to me I consider of my whole life, the 30th of May, *Fernando* 7th's birth day ; let those who have experienced the various vicissitudes of human life, or who have seen or felt misfortunes in various shapes form an idea of my reflections at that moment, no other can ; after being 3 long years 1 month and 2 days closely confined, and in irons during that time ; suddenly to enjoy the sunshine of liberty is a species of happiness few experience. The Gov.'s Secretary took me out of prison ; before whom (the Gov.) it was necessary I should be presented before I could obtain my pass to leave Carthagena, to whose palace I was conducted, but he not being at home it was delayed till the next day ; in the mean time, I was conducted to the house of Don Manuel's, at which place the Secretary was to call for me the next day at 10 o'clock. at the hour appointed I was taken before the Gov. on observing me, and being informed I was the person included in the Royal order of the 22nd of Feb. ultimo, he arose, gently bowed, eyed me from head to foot, spoke not a word, but seemed from the pleasant smile which was fixed on his countenance, to rejoice at my success, and turning around into an adjoining apartment, gave orders for the proper officer, to attend me to the public office, where I was to receive my passport and a copy of the Royal Order, there I wrote my name, which he filed with the public records, and after a delay of a few days, obtained my necessary papers ; in the mean time I continued at Don Manuel's at perfect liberty ; as soon as I had procured myself a suit of clothes any way decent to appear in the public streets I waited on Genl. Antonio Narvaes ; for a description of which interview, you must wait until my next, as I have spun this letter already to a great length ; enquire after my old friend J. Hunt, request him to write me ; direct to Washington City ; my duty to my Parents, love and affection to my brothers and Sisters, give my respects to Doct. Jones and wife, and suffer none of this to appear in public print. write me by the next mail, and believe me to be

your affectionate brother,

[Superscription,]

H. INGERSOLL.

Mr. Thomas Ingersoll,
Stockbridge, Mass.

XIII. HENRY D. SEDGWICK TO H. INGERSOLL.¹

Stockbridge 8th Aug^t 1809

My dear friend,

I have written You four or five letters three of which You certainly have not received and I sincerely hope You may not this as it will arrive at Washington after the time when We hope You will have left there. The only object in writing is inspired by a bare possibility that the letters sent by a number of your friends here to You after hearing your arrival in Washington did not arrive safely. In one of those letters was inclosed the sum of \$100 in two \$50 bills, which it was thought might be sufficient for your present wants. So sparing a calculation would not have been made had you not confined your request to your father to the small sum of \$60. If any thing more is necessary, You will let me or some other of your friends here know immediately and You certainly will not delay a communication of that kind from any motives of delicacy. If however under your circumstances You should be so unreasonable as to entertain such a feeling towards your friends, You may obviate it by considering all *future advances* as a loan to be repaid when it shall be perfectly convenient.

The history of your liberation was sent You by our former letters, but as the only reason for writing now is the possibility that those letters did not arrive, I shall briefly state all that is here known of it. Some time last fall, I think in the month of November my Father wrote to Mr Erskine the British Minister requesting his influence and exertions to effect that object. Mr Erskine made an application to Mr Hammond one of his former opposition friends who in the change of ministry retained his place of Under Secretary of State. Mr Hammond who fortunately was formerly in this country and here acquainted with my Father immediately took a warm interest in the affair.² He was successful in obtaining the interference of Admiral Apodaca Ambassador from the Spanish Junta to the Court of St. James, and it seems that the request of that minister to his government was granted without the slightest delay. In reviewing the means by which this most joyful event has been effected it is scarcely possible not to recognize the beneficent interposition of Providence. At a crisis of the world when the slaughter of thousands is a thing of daily occurrence and scarcely of a day's recollection, ministers and governments whose kingdoms are now swimming and now sinking in the vortex of the whirlpool of revolution have promptly and efficaciously cooperated for the release of an unknown individual confined thousands of miles from them. The least coldness or delay in a single person who formed a link in the chain of communication would have probably have been fatal. Throughout your life this will be a theme of

¹ This letter evidently failed to reach Georgetown before Ingersoll's departure, since it was returned to Stockbridge unopened. Henry Dwight Sedgwick (1785-1831) was the second son of Judge Theodore Sedgwick, of Stockbridge.

² George Hammond, minister to the United States from 1791 to 1795, was under secretary of state for foreign affairs from 1795 to 1806 and from 1807 to 1809.

praise and gratitude to your God, and of most pleasing reflection and I trust improvement to yourself.

If an opportunity should present You will without doubt make your acknowledgments in person to Mr. Erskine. Your Father and Mother have written him two letters or rather one with a duplicate which were forwarded to New York and Philadelphia as We had learned from the papers that Mr Erskine had left Washington for the latter place. He however returned before the letter directed to Philadelphia could have reached that city. If You find that neither of the letters have been received, You can send them on.

We are waiting with the utmost impatience to see You. Your family entreat that You will not delay your return a single moment longer than is absolutely necessary. The last of next week is the time generally fixed on for your arrival.

With the utmost affection

I am Your friend

HENRY D SEDGWICK.

Mr. Henry Ingersoll,
[Washington.]

P.S. The postage is not paid from the improbability that this letter will ever reach You.